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ABSTRACT

This report attempts to answer the question "where do blacks currently live in Chicago?" and to clarify some of the housing related needs and desires of the black community and some of the patterns and forces which shape residential choice. The maps included in the report, developed using a "windshield survey," demonstrate that long, established trends of racial segregation and isolation have continued in Chicago. Although patterns of segregation seemed to be less rigid in 1977 than in 1970, racial prejudice remains the dominant force in determining where black Chicagoans will live. Other survey findings are reported under the following headings: (1) general patterns of expansion, (2) resegregation, (3) racial mixing, (4) areas of non-expansion, (5) population trends and rates of expansion, (6) housing demand and racial transition, (7) income levels and racial transition, (8) the current black homeownership market, and (9) the return of the middle class. It seems probable that established trends will continue into the 1980s although they may be altered by further racial mixing and an increase in the suburbanization of middle income blacks. (MK)

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CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

Where Blacks Live:

Race and Residence in Chicago in The 1970s

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Spring, 1978

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

WHERE BLACKS LIVE:

RACE AND RESIDENCE IN CHICAGO IN THE 1970s

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SPRING, 1978

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PREFACE

It has been eight years since the Chicago Urban League last published a report on black residential areas in the City of Chicago. During these eight years, many changes have occurred. Tens of thousands of units in the center city have been torn down. Entire neighborhoods have changed from white to black in outlying areas. The "ghetto" in which black Chicagoans are confined has grown to an even more enormous size, while becoming more and more hollow at its core.

Yet despite these changes, the basic patterns which define where blacks can live in the City of Chicago are much the same. Segregation and racial isolation are the norm for the vast majority of Chicago's black citizens, as they have been since the emergence of the black community. Confinement, deterioration and frustration still characterize the black housing market. Despite some increases in integration, particularly on the North Side, Chicago remains one of the most highly segregated cities in the United States.

This report attempts to serve a dual purpose. First, with the help of the attached maps, it tries to answer the often asked question: "where do blacks currently live in the City of Chicago?" Second, it attempts to clarify some of the housing related needs and desires of the black community, and some of the patterns and forces which shape

residential choice. It is offered as testimony to a tragic and persistent problem in the life of our City, with the hope that it will help pave the way to a brighter future.

James W. Compton
President
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Chicago Urban League has a long-standing commitment to the concept that blacks and other minorities should have full access to housing opportunities throughout the Chicago region. The League has periodically issued reports reviewing black housing conditions and residential patterns in the City of Chicago. This report and the appended maps indicating where blacks currently live in Chicago attempts to carry on that tradition.

Prior Urban League studies have shown a consistent pattern of racial segregation in Chicago which has, if anything, worsened over the years. The sections of the City to which black Chicagoans are generally confined have grown to a gigantic size during the past decades, increasing the racial isolation in which most black families live. It was estimated in 1970 that 93% of all blacks in Chicago would have to relocate in order to achieve a random distribution of households throughout the city. By most measures Chicago is among the two or three most highly segregated major cities in the United States.[1]

The maps presented here show that, for the most part, long established trends have continued. Blacks have continued to migrate toward the western and southern sections of the city. The rapid rate of expansion of black residential areas evident in the 1960s seems, if anything, to have increased. For the vast majority of Chicago's families, both black and white, racial segregation continues to be a fundamental force defining and restricting where they will live.

There is some slight but encouraging evidence that these patterns of segregation may be less rigid in 1977 than they were in 1970. In certain sections of the City, particularly on the North side, levels of integration appear to be increasing. It seems possible that a gradual but significant shift in racial attitudes is occurring which will in the future allow more and more black families to exercise their right of housing choice without fear of harassment.

The major finding of this report, however, is that racial prejudice is still the dominant force in determining where black Chicagoans will live. Despite much heralded advances in civil rights and open housing, and despite rapid growth of black residential areas which makes the term "ghetto" seem no longer to apply, Chicago's black population still faces seriously restricted housing choices, and still suffers from the social isolation and economic discrimination which have traditionally characterized ghetto life.

II. METHODOLOGY

The accompanying map was prepared using a "windshield survey" technique similar to that used by the Real Estate Research Corporation earlier in the decade in plotting expansion of Chicago's black residential areas.

First, areas in which partial or total racial transition seemed to have occurred since 1970 were identified using the racial breakdowns in 1976 elementary school enrollment data, compared to 1970 census data. Although the racial composition of local public schools may only roughly reflect the racial composition of the neighborhood where they are located, it was hypothesized that communities with virtually no

black children in public schools were unlikely to have any significant black population. These areas were, therefore, assumed to be predominantly white and were excluded from further analysis. Likewise areas which the census had shown to be predominantly (75%) black in 1970 were assumed still to be predominantly black (except on the Near North Side) and were not analyzed further. Areas which had a black elementary school population of 5% or more in 1976, but which had not been predominantly black in 1970, were judged to be areas in which racial transition had possibly occurred. These areas were targeted for further study.

Second, two Urban League workers drove slowly through the targeted areas, coding on a city street atlas the race of those persons they saw on each block. The survey was limited to non-commercial streets, and obvious visitors on residential streets -- e.g., repairmen, postmen, street crews, crossing guards -- were not coded. Also excluded were persons whose race could not be determined with confidence on the basis of physical appearance. The survey was conducted during the late afternoon hours when children were most likely to be playing in front of their homes.

Despite the precautions which were taken to make the survey accurate, this technique provides at best only a rough estimate of residential patterns. It cannot be used to predict with any accuracy the ratio of black to white residents in any particular neighborhood. There were usually no more than four or five people visible on any one block. If all were black it was assumed that the block was predominantly (at least 75%) black; if all were white, it was assumed that the block was at least 90% white; if both blacks and whites were

present it was generally assumed that the block was racially mixed.

The black population in predominantly black areas was estimated at 75% to allow for the possibility that a considerable number of whites may still live in areas which have recently undergone racial transition. Since these whites are often likely to be elderly, their presence will not be reflected in school enrollment figures, and they tend to be less frequently visible on the street. They may, however, still form a sizable minority. The presence of even a small number of blacks in predominantly white areas, on the other hand, is likely to affect school enrollment figures, since most black "pioneers" are young families with school age children. For this reason, communities with no visible sign of black residents were estimated to be at least 90% white.

III. THE MAPS

Two maps illustrating the survey results are presented on the fold out page at the end of the report. The smaller one gives an overview of the expansion of black areas in Chicago since 1960. It identifies 1) census tracts which were 10% or more black in 1960; 2) additional census tracts which were 10% or more black by 1970, and 3) additional residential areas appearing to have a significant black minority (at least 10%) by 1977 based on the Chicago Urban League survey.

The larger map delineates black expansion since 1970 in more detail. Large non-residential areas such as major parks and industrial complexes were left blank. Census tracts which were predominantly black or racially mixed in 1970 are identified as a general frame of

reference.[2] Areas of expansion are broken down into two categories based on the 1977 survey: those which now appear to be predominantly black (approximately 75% or more), and those which appear to be racially mixed (from approximately 10% to 75% black).

Areas having some black residents (perhaps about 5%) are also tentatively identified. Included in this category are tracts where the black population was very small in 1970 (1% or 2%), but where it appears to be increasing, judging by school enrollment figures and by personal knowledge. The windshield survey technique was tried in some of these areas, but it proved inadequate in identifying such a small minority population.

Although the survey collected block by block data, this information was necessarily somewhat generalized on the maps. Boundary lines between racial areas were smoothed out, and anamolous observations which may have been in error were sometimes ignored. The maps do not attempt to define precisely the racial composition of every block in Chicago. Such precision would not be possible using a rough form of measurement like the windshield survey. They do estimate, with a high degree of confidence, the prevailing limits of black communities in Chicago.

IV. GENERAL PATTERNS OF EXPANSION

These maps indicate that black residential areas in Chicago expanded extremely rapidly between 1970 and 1977. Most of the growth took place in outlying areas four miles or more from the Loop. In general, patterns established in the 1950s and 1960s were continued in the 1970s. The black community on the West Side, having reached the city limits

at Oak Park, has begun to expand northward into central Austin and Humboldt Park. On the South Side, southward movement after 1970 continued through Roseland and West Pullman, until the city limits were reached at Calumet Park. Expansion on the South Side also continued to the west, through West Englewood and Auburn Gresham, and into Chicago Lawn in the Marquette Park area. Some further movement to the east, into South Chicago and Calumet Heights, has also occurred.

V. RESEGREGATION

For the most part this expansion appears to have followed the classic pattern of block by block resegregation. Black families, seeking improved housing tend to buy homes on the blocks immediately adjacent to the established ghetto. Once a block has become approximately 10% black, according to most estimates, a racial "tipping point" is reached.[3] White families, perceiving that the block is about to undergo racial transition, sell their homes as rapidly as possible and move out of the area. The complete transition from white to black may occur over a very brief period. Because resegregation generally happens so quickly, the band of racial mixing between the white community and the black community is likely to be extremely narrow at any point in time. Our survey indicated that it is often no more than two or three blocks wide.

Since 1970, resegregation has occurred primarily on the South Side of Chicago. Blacks have advanced 6 to 8 blocks to the west, starting at Ashland between 55th and 89th, and at Halsted from 89th to 103rd. Between Halsted and King Drive, predominantly black areas now extend

24 blocks further south than they did in 1970. In South Shore and South Chicago, resegregation may be occurring more gradually. These areas were characterized by an unusually wide band of racial mixing in 1970, and although black areas have advanced 6 to 8 blocks to the south and east, they are still bordered by a racially mixed section as much as 8 blocks wide. On the West Side, the same pattern is evident. The ghetto has expanded approximately 8 blocks to the north and west during the past seven years, and is preceded by a racially mixed area 4 to 8 blocks wide.

VI. RACIAL MIXING

In certain areas of the city, racial mixing rather than resegregation appears to be the dominant pattern. In Hyde Park, the Near South Side, the Near West Side, the Near North Side and Lincoln Park, a conscious effort has been made since the 1950s and 1960s to create racially balanced neighborhoods, primarily through urban renewal programs. Although these programs have had many negative consequences, including the displacement of thousands of low-income families and the destruction of housing stock and neighborhood fabric, they have been fairly successful in creating stable, partially integrated communities. The Urban League's survey did not uncover significant changes in the racial composition of these areas over the past seven years, with the possible exception of the Near North Side, as discussed below.

Racial mixing also appears to be present in areas which did not undergo urban renewal in the 1970s, most notably Uptown on the North Side, and West Town just east of Humboldt Park. Neither of these

communities is located directly in the path of black expansion, yet both have significantly increased their black population during the past seven years. Although both may undergo resegregation at some point in the future, they currently appear to be characterized by a degree of racial mixing which is unique in Chicago. Blacks, Spanish-speaking whites and older white ethnic populations appear to be mixed together over a large, vaguely defined area. Few clear-cut boundaries, like those so readily visible in areas of resegregation, can be identified.

It seems significant that both of these areas have an unusually large Spanish-speaking population. In 1970, Spanish Americans formed 11% of the population in Uptown, and 39% in West Town. Although Spanish-speaking populations tend to be segregated from both blacks and whites, they are not nearly so isolated from either group as blacks usually are from non Spanish-speaking whites. Thus in some instances the presence of Spanish Americans may disrupt traditional racial barriers. A white community which accepts Spanish Americans may find the Spanish American community in its midst accepting blacks. The resulting racial mix, although hardly stable, certainly offers an interesting alternative to the traditional rigid pattern of resegregation. Racial mixing in South Chicago and to a lesser extent in New City may also be associated with the presence of large and well established Spanish-speaking communities in these areas.

Even more significant than the patterns emerging in Uptown and West Town is an apparent increase since 1970 in the black population scattered throughout the North Side. School data and personal observation suggest that the small black minority in most North Side communities

is gradually increasing despite the absence of identifiable black neighborhoods in most areas. In school districts 2, 3, and 24 on the North Side, black enrollment in elementary schools (excluding magnet schools) rose from 1.2% in 1969 to 4.4% in 1974 and to 7.6% in 1976. Although part of this growth was due to the expansion of black neighborhoods in northeast Rogers Park and Uptown, part occurred in areas where our field survey could identify no visible black population. It seems apparent that an increasing number of blacks -- those of middle income as well as the poor -- are taking advantage of opportunities offered by the diverse, cosmopolitan lake shore communities on the North Side. In most of these communities the threat of resegregation is minimal, and racial integration can apparently occur without evoking hostility, or even comment, from local residents.

VII. AREAS OF NON-EXPANSION

Although expansion of black and racially mixed residential areas has clearly been the dominant pattern in Chicago during the 1970s, not all of the black communities are growing. The borderline between black and white residential areas has been remarkably stable in virtually all older, inlying neighborhoods. On the South Side between 26th and 51st Streets blacks have been largely confined to the area east of the railroad viaduct on Stewart Avenue since 1960. On the West Side, the railroad viaduct north of 16th Street between Halsted and Western and the viaduct on Kinzie between Ashland and California have proven to be equally durable boundaries. The railroad line which parallels Ogden Avenue from Western to the city limits likewise seems to have become established as a stable dividing line during the 1960s. Little expansion of the black community seems likely in any of these areas during the

coming decade.

The fact that a railroad viaduct is involved in each of these instances is hardly coincidental. Railroads play a remarkable role in defining neighborhoods of different racial composition or economic status in Chicago. Blacks often seem to be confined, quite literally, to "the other side of the tracks". The CTA elevated tracks on the Near North Side, for example, clearly play this role, as does the railroad line which runs down Torrence Avenue south of 95th Street. The predominantly white historic Pullman district is completely surrounded by railroad tracks, which appear successfully to divide it from nearby residential areas, all solidly black. An even more curious instance is Burnside, which in 1979 had a black population of 2.9%, despite the fact that it was completely surrounded by communities which had become predominantly black during the 1960s. Burnside is also protected by railroad tracks. In 1977 it still had a considerable white minority, creating an island of racial mixing in the heart of the South Side ghetto.

VIII. POPULATION TRENDS AND RATES OF EXPANSION

During the 1960s, rapid expansion of black residential areas was clearly related to rapid growth of Chicago's black population. The number of blacks in Chicago increased by 35.7% between 1960 and 1970, from 812,637 to 1,102,620. During the 1970s, however, this dramatic growth rate was sharply reduced. It is estimated that in 1975 there were approximately 1,184,000 blacks in Chicago, an increase of only 7.4% in five years.[4] Falling rates of in-migration appear to be the major cause for this leveling off of the black population, combined in some

measure with changes in birth rates and increases in black out-migration to the suburbs and beyond.

In light of this trend, the continued rapid expansion of the black community in Chicago since 1970 is particularly noteworthy. Between 1960 and 1970, an area of approximately 184 square blocks in West Garfield and Austin passed the "tipping point" of 10% black. Between 1970 and 1977, an additional 112 square blocks in Austin had "tipped". On the Southwest Side a 416 square block area passed the tipping point during the 1960s. Approximately 230 additional square blocks were 10% black by 1977. On the Far South Side, 208 square blocks passed the 10% black level between 1960 and 1970; an additional 272 square blocks had "tipped" by 1977. Only on the Southeast Side, where further expansion was effectively blocked by the Lake Calumet industrial area, did the rate of black residential expansion decrease appreciably in the 1970s. Between 1960 and 1970 approximately 552 square blocks were "tipped" in the area from South Shore to Pullman. Only 144 more had been added by 1977.

These figures, of course, provide only a rough measure of the dimensions of racial transition. They do not take into account the density of residential development in the areas of transition, nor the extent of non-residential land use in these areas. They do suggest, however, that expansion of black residential areas has been occurring much more rapidly than expansion of the black population.

The explanation for this lies primarily in overall population trends in the City of Chicago. During the 1960s, extremely rapid suburban building led to a massive shift of population from the City of

Chicago to the suburbs. Within ten years Chicago's non-black population declined by 17.3%, from 2,738,000 in 1960 to 2,264,000 in 1970. During the 1970s the flight of whites from the city to the suburbs appears to have accelerated. By 1975, Chicago's non-black population had fallen to 1,889,000, a decrease of more than 16%. These losses easily offset the modest growth of the black population in the 1970s. Overall, Chicago's population declined more than 7% between 1970 and 1975.[5]

Population loss has created a very loose housing market in Chicago. Because of declining white demand for housing in certain areas, blacks are able to compete successfully in the white housing market and thus to force expansion of ghetto boundaries. Although fear of black expansion further weakens white demands for housing and stimulates increased flight to the suburbs, this clearly seems to be a secondary dynamic in determining where and how rapidly resegregation will occur. If attractive suburban alternatives were not available, white demand for housing throughout the city would undoubtedly be so high that black residential areas would expand only enough to minimally accommodate growth of the black population.

IX. HOUSING DEMAND AND RACIAL TRANSITION

Patterns of housing demand and supply in Chicago would appear largely to explain why black residential areas expand in certain sections of the city and not in others. The loose housing market allows blacks of middle and moderate income to seek to improve their housing conditions by moving out of older, densely developed sections of the city into outlying areas which are more attractive and offer better opportunities for home ownership. Since black demand for housing is focussed in these

outlying communities, they undergo the most rapid racial transition.

The very poor, on the other hand, do not generally have the resources to force expansion of racial boundaries by competing for housing in the white housing market. They tend to remain confined in the older, deteriorating sections of the ghetto, or to acquire slightly improved housing by following in the wake of moderate and middle income blacks as they press outward from the city center. The resulting lack of effective demand among blacks for housing in inlying white areas is a major reason why racial boundaries remain so stable in the older sections of the city. The fact that white demand for housing is unusually high, for a variety of reasons, in communities such as Bridgeport, Pilsen, and the Near North Side helps to reinforce this pattern.

Ironically, rapid expansion of black residential areas has not succeeded in greatly alleviating the shortage of decent, equitably-priced housing which has prevailed for decades in the black community. Neighborhood deterioration and destruction of housing in the inner city is proceeding so rapidly that black families find themselves constantly under pressure in their struggle to find and maintain an adequate living environment. A Chicago Urban League study of May 1977 found that both rents and housing prices in 1970 tended to be higher in black neighborhoods than in comparable white neighborhoods within a wide median income range, reflecting the intense competition which exists for well-maintained housing in stable neighborhoods within the black community.[6]

Finding homes of their own is a particular problem for black families in Chicago. During the 1960s blacks began to expand into areas of single family housing in the city and black rates of homeownership rose signifi-

cantly. In 1970, however, blacks still owned fewer homes than whites in all income categories up to $25,000 per year. Overall, the black rate of homeownership in Chicago was only 23.7%, compared to a non-black rate of 39.7%. This would indicate a persistent unfulfilled demand for homeownership in the black community which would be expected to shape the direction of black residential expansion.

Given such a situation, it is hardly surprising that during the 1970s resegregation occurred primarily in areas with an unusually large number of single family homes. In Roseland and West Pullman on the far South Side, by far the largest areas of black expansion since 1970, over 60% of all units are single family homes. In West Englewood and Auburn Gresham, the western outposts of the South Side ghetto, single family homes make up just over 50% of all units. On the Southeast Side, Calumet, Heights, with 72% of its housing stock in single family homes, had been fully consolidated into the ghetto by 1977.

Not all areas of black expansion, however, fit into this category. In particular, those which are characterized by racial mixing rather than clear-cut resegregation tend to be densely developed and to offer few opportunities for homeownership. Uptown, for example, has only 4% of its housing stock in single family units; Humboldt Park and West Town have only 15% and 6% respectively. Austin and South Chicago, which underwent both resegregation and racial mixing in the 1970s seem to form an intermediate category. Single family homes make up 21% of the housing stock in Austin and 26% in South Chicago.

This suggests that both middle income families seeking homeownership and poor families seeking lower rents all participated in shaping the

black residential patterns apparent in 1977. Resegregation appears more likely to be associated with the single family home market, and racial mixing appears more likely to occur in low-income areas, particularly those with a large Spanish-speaking population. If such a relationship between income and patterns of racial mixings in the 1970s can be confirmed, our understanding of the dynamics of racial transition will be greatly strengthened. However, further research will have to be done before we can be certain of what the implications are of this apparent correlation.

X. INCOME LEVELS AND RACIAL TRANSITION

Focussing on the homeownership market, the Chicago Urban League's 1977 study suggested the hypothesis that expansion of the ghetto areas is most likely to occur when the average income at the fringe of the black community is higher than the average income in adjacent white communities.[7] In such a situation the black community which is pressing outward has a solid economic base from which to compete with neighboring whites for housing in predominantly white areas. Based on this hypothesis, the Urban League predicted that the greatest pressure for ghetto expansion in the 1970s would occur on the far South Side, in Roseland, West Pullman, Calumet Heights, and South Chicago. Minor pressure might be exerted for westward expansion into Beverly, parts of West Englewood and New City, and on the West Side into Austin.

Except that pressures in Auburn-Gresham, West Englewood, and Austin were underestimated based on this hypothesis, these predictions proved substantially correct. The competitive position of the black community in terms of income does appear to be a significant factor in shaping the

process of resegregation. It is not, however, the only factor. Attitudes of the white community, white demand for housing in areas adjacent to the ghetto, transportation lines, geography, and the activities of real estate brokers all may have a significant impact. The emergence of racially-mixed low-income areas, and the increasing dispersion of middle income blacks in white areas such as the North Side can also be expected increasingly to influence where, and how rapidly, resegregation occurs in Chicago.

XI. THE CURRENT BLACK HOMEOWNERSHIP MARKET

In order to test the accuracy of this picture of housing demand in the black community, a Chicago Urban League staff member interviewed three real estate brokers familiar with the black housing market in Chicago. All agreed that the level of demand for single-family housing is extremely high in the black community. Lehman Parrish, then President of the Dearborn Real Estate Board, described it as "stupendous". He and Marion Maner, President of the Chicago Real Estate Board, cited South Shore, Chatham, Park Manor (in Greater Grand Crossing), Pill Hill (in Calumet Heights), and West Chesterfield (in northern Roseland) as particularly attractive areas. Pullman was also named by Mr. Parrish, but he added that it is viewed as a last resort by home-seekers unable to locate in the above-mentioned neighborhoods. Brainerd (in Washington Heights), North Beverly, and Foster Park (in Auburn Gresham) were other areas of black expansion listed by Frank Williams of F.J. Williams Realty. Mr. Maner and Mr. Parrish, however, view Beverly as a special case. Although the demand for single-family housing there is very great, black real estate agents get few or no listings in Beverly. "They

(black homeseekers) would like to move to Beverly", stated Mr. Parrish, "but we (black realtors) are frozen out."

According to Mr. Williams, it is mostly young people acquiring their first home and middle-aged families previously denied access to the homeownership market who are fueling "extreme" demand for single-family homes on the far South Side. Mr. Maner and Mr. Parrish confirmed the importance of the first time home buyer in the black housing market, and pointed out that a large number of single black women with professional and business careers are now becoming homeowners. All three cited civil servants, professionals and white collar workers as the major class of homeowners in the black community, although a considerable number of blue collar workers are also purchasing homes.

These three realtors confirmed that the major movement of blacks in Chicago is from the West Side to the South Side, and from older South Side communities to newer areas. Mr. Maner suggested that an increasing number of middle income blacks are moving to the suburbs or becoming renters in North Side communities because they are unable to find housing in traditional black areas. None of the three saw integration increasing in Chicago, except possibly on the North Side, although Mr. Parrish suggested that Chicago may be showing a greater tendency toward "acceptance" of integration, rather than the traditional determination to fight against it. Finally, none of the three saw any indication that the current imbalance between supply and demand in the black housing market will improve in the near future. They project a continued shortage of good housing for blacks and a continued movement of blacks toward the outlying sections of the South Side ghetto in search of quiet neighborhoods and single family homes.

XII. RETURN OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

A great deal has been written recently about the problems which result when older urban neighborhoods are rehabilitated for middle income buyers. Rents, prices, and property taxes rise, forcing out low-income residents who can no longer afford to rent or own the homes they have lived in for many years. This displacement of the poor by the affluent has been a serious problem on the Near North Side and in Lincoln Park for many years, and is becoming an increasingly serious threat in some parts of Uptown and other North Side neighborhoods.

Since the phenomenon of middle class takeover is often described as a confrontation between wealthy whites and poor blacks, it was thought that the windshield survey might uncover areas, particularly on the North Side, where blacks had been replaced by whites since the 1970 census. Although the results of rehabilitation activity are readily visible in several North Side neighborhoods, the racial impact of rehabilitation could not be accurately assessed. No blocks could be positively identified as having turned from black to white during the last seven years.

The limitations of both census tract data and our survey technique partially account for this. The Census includes precise racial counts, but its data are aggregated into tracts several blocks square. The Chicago Urban League survey compiled block-by-block data, but, because of the limitations of the windshield survey techniques, did not provide precise racial tallies. Because the two sets of data are not fully comparable and each is generalized in some manner, comparison of the two will reveal only relatively large scale changes in racial counts and boundaries. Small shifts have undoubtedly occurred which could not be detected using

our methodology.

In addition, some of the rehabilitation work occurring on the North Side is clearly providing housing for the black middle class. Thus the new residents are not readily distinguishable from the old residents on the basis of race. Both the low income population which is being replaced, and the high income population which is displacing it, tend to be racially mixed to some degree.

XIII. FUTURE TRENDS

It seems probable that trends which have been established during the past decades will continue into the 1980s. Despite the beginning of revitalization in some areas, white demand for city housing is likely to remain very weak. The rapid deterioration of the housing stock in the center city will continue to displace a large number of blacks, and black families who succeed in improving their economic condition will continue to seek housing as far as possible from the old ghetto areas. As a result, although Chicago's black population will expand quite slowly, black residential areas will continue to grow.

There are, however, a number of factors which may alter the traditional patterns to some degree in the coming decade. First, the kind of racial mixing which is apparent in Humboldt Park and West Town, Uptown, and South Chicago may spread to other older communities, particularly if the current rapid expansion of the city's Spanish-speaking population continues. Furthermore, an increasing number of middle income blacks will probably seek housing throughout the predominantly

white neighborhoods of the North Side which have manifested an openness to racial integration unusual in Chicago. Thus it is likely that the 1980s will see a significant increase in the degree of racial mixing in Chicago.

Second, the rate of suburbanization of blacks is likely to increase, perhaps dramatically. An increasing number of middle income black homeseekers have been discovering the relative openness of Chicago's suburbs and have been opting for a suburban life style. The number of such independent moves is likely to continue to rise. In addition, an increasing number of blacks are now seeking housing in suburbs which lie adjacent to the Chicago ghetto, particularly Oak Park to the west and Calumet Park to the south. These families may not consciously be choosing a suburban life style so much as following established patterns of residential movement. Because black residential areas have now reached the city limits, inlying suburbs have become vulnerable to the traditional process of racial expansion through resegregation.

The predominant suburban response to the threat of resegregation has been to mobilize to promote integration and to encourage blacks to move throughout the suburbs instead of clustering at the city limits. Oak Park has been particularly effective in this effort; so effective, in fact, that blacks have tended to skip over Oak Park and settle in the neighboring suburbs of Bellwood and Maywood. Calumet Park to the south is also gearing up to prevent resegregation by promoting widespread suburban integration. These efforts are supported by an active and growing Fair Housing Network which assists blacks in finding homes throughout the Chicago metropolitan region. The result of all this activity is likely to be a significant shift in the distribution of the black population throughout the Chicago suburbs.

Increasing levels of integration, however, will affect only a small percentage of Chicago's black population. For the vast majority, discrimination (both perceived and real) and segregation will continue to be the basic factors determining where they will live. Resegregation will continue in Marquette Park, Auburn Gresham and South Chicago on the South Side, and in Austin on the West Side. Uptown and Humboldt Park, which are now racially mixed, may also undergo resegregation unless adequate alternative housing choices are made available to blacks.

The forces which fuel resegregation -- excessive suburban building which draws whites out of the city, persistent shortages of decent housing in black residential areas, and a social climate in which integration is viewed with suspicion -- are likely to continue unabated. Deterioration and abandonment of inner city housing will continue to displace large numbers of blacks, forcing them into fringe areas in search of an acceptable living environment. The resulting social disruption and racial conflict will reinforce the sense of alienation and frustration which has for decades characterized the black housing market.

In the final analysis, it is the society as a whole, not just the black community, which must pay the costs of maintaining a segregated housing market. Destruction of sound housing and viable communities as a result of massive disinvestment, racial isolation and hostility, and the perpetuation of discrimination and injustice are burdens which impact on the quality of life for all of Chicago's citizens, although they bear most heavily on the black community. Until a full range of housing choices are made available to all regardless of race, until the city leadership commits itself unequivocally to promoting integration and equal access to housing, the burdens will increase and the costs will continue to mount.

FOOTNOTES

1. Council on Municipal Performance, City Housing, Municipal Performance Report 1:2 (November 1973) The methodology referred to here was developed by Karl and Alma Taueber. See Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change, New York, 1969.

2. On the larger map, census tracts 4302, 4601, 4608, 4610, 5001, 5602, and 7503 are subdivided for the purpose of presenting 1970 census data. The census identified these tracts as predominantly black or racially mixed in 1970. A section of each, however, was all or predominantly white, as evident from their current racial composition. In order to focus on the persistence of whites in these areas, it was necessary to adjust census tract boundaries in these seven cases.

3. Donald N. Steinnes, "Alternative Models of Neighborhood Change," Social Forces 55:4 (June 1977), 1043-1057. Although Steinnes' analysis of Chicago data appears to confirm the usefulness of tipping point theory, there is considerable debate in academic circles as to whether it is valid. See John M. Goering, "Neighborhood Tipping and Racial Transition: A Review of Social Science Evidence," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 44:1 (January 1978), 68-78. It seems probable that "tipping" may occur at different points, or not at all, depending on market circumstances and social climate. In Chicago, at least, the 10% cut-off appears to be a useful means of identifying neighborhoods likely to undergo resegregation in the near future in most cases.

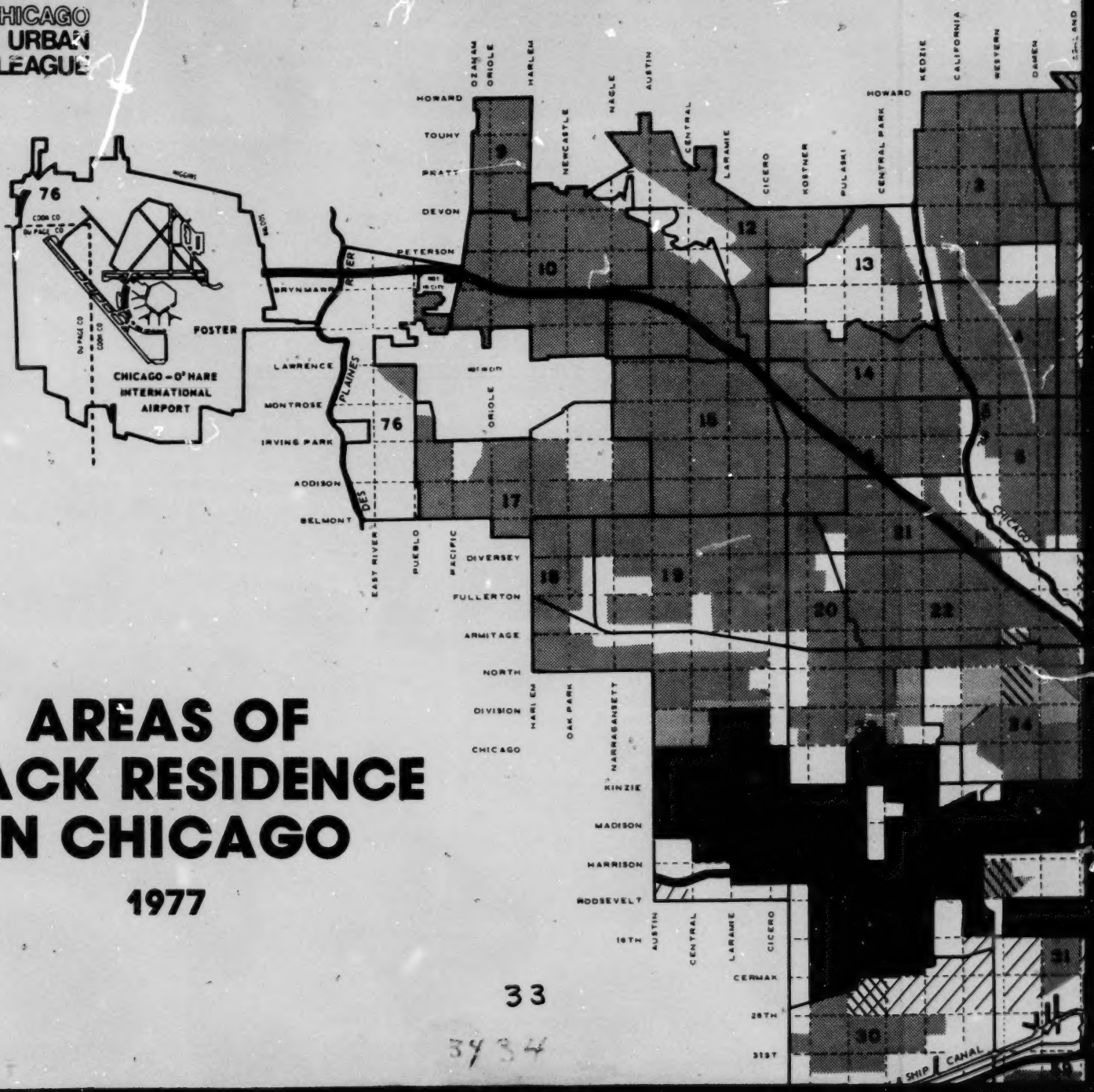
4. Estimates for 1975 prepared by the Chicago Area Geographic Information Survey, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

5. Ibid.

6. Chicago Urban League, Research and Planning Department, The Black Housing Market in Chicago: A Reassessment of the Filtering Model Chicago, May 1977, Tables 1 and 2.

7. Ibid, Figures 5a and 5b.

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE



AREAS OF BLACK RESIDENCE IN CHICAGO

1977

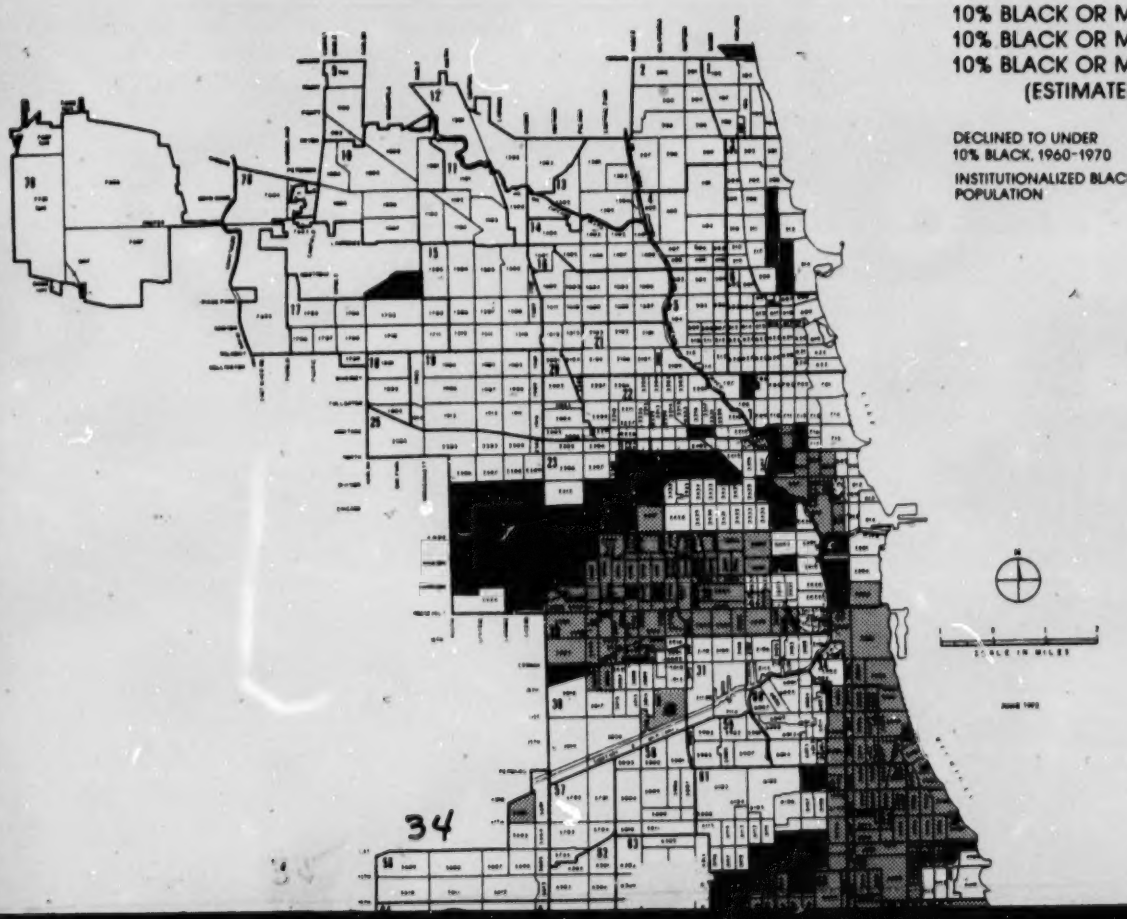
33

3434

EXPANSION OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS

1960–1977

(BY CENSUS TRACT)



CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE
RESEARCH & PLANNING DEPARTMENT

KEY

75% BLACK OR MORE, 1970

10% TO 75% BLACK, 1970

SOME BLACK RESIDENTS, 1970-1977

PREDOMINANTLY BLACK, 1977

RACIALLY MIXED, 1977

WHITE RESIDENTIAL AREAS, 1977

NON-RESIDENTIAL AREAS

MAJOR EXPRESSWAYS

MAP DESIGNED BY: DEBOR
BASE MAP COURTESY OF T
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOP
SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS, 196

COMMUNITY AREAS

1 ROGERS PARK
2 WEST RIDGE
3 UPTOWN
4 LINCOLN SQUARE
5 NORTH CENTER
6 LAKE VIEW
7 LINCOLN PARK
8 NEAR NORTH SIDE
9 EDISON PARK
10 NORWOOD PARK
11 JEFFERSON PARK
12 FOREST GLEN
13 NORTH PARK
14 ALBANY PARK
15 PORTAGE PARK
16 IRVING PARK
17 DUNNING
18 MONTCLARE
19 BELMONT CRAGIN
20 HERMOSA
21 AVONDALE
22 LOGAN SQUARE
23 HUMBOLDT PARK
24 WEST TOWN
25 AUSTIN
26 WEST GARFIELD PK
27 EAST GARFIELD PK
28 NEAR WEST SIDE
29 NORTH LAWNDALE
30 SOUTH LAWNDALE
31 LOWER WEST SIDE
32 LOOP
33 NEAR SOUTH SIDE
34 ARMOUR SQUARE
35 DOUGLAS
36 OAKLAND
37 FULLER PARK
38 GRAND BLVD.
39 KENWOOD
40 WASHINGTON PK
41 HYDE PARK
42 WOODLAWN
43 SOUTH SHORE
44 CHATHAM
45 AVALON PARK
46 SOUTH CHICAGO
47 BURNSIDE
48 CALUMET HEIGHTS
49 ROSELAND
50 PULLMAN
51 SOUTH DEERING
52 EAST SIDE
53 WEST PULLMAN
54 RIVERDALE
55 HEGEWISCH
56 GARFIELD RIDGE
57 ARCHER HEIGHTS
58 BRIGHTON PARK
59 MCKINLEY PARK
60 BRIDGEPORT
61 NEW CITY
62 WEST ELSDON
63 GAGE PARK
64 CLEARING
65 WEST LAWN
66 CHICAGO LAWN
67 WEST ENGLEWOOD
68 ENGLEWOOD
69 GREATER GRAND CR.
70 ASHBURN
71 AUBURN GRESHAM
72 BEVERLY
73 WASHINGTON HGTS.
74 MOUNT GREENWOOD
75 MORGAN PARK
76 O'HARE